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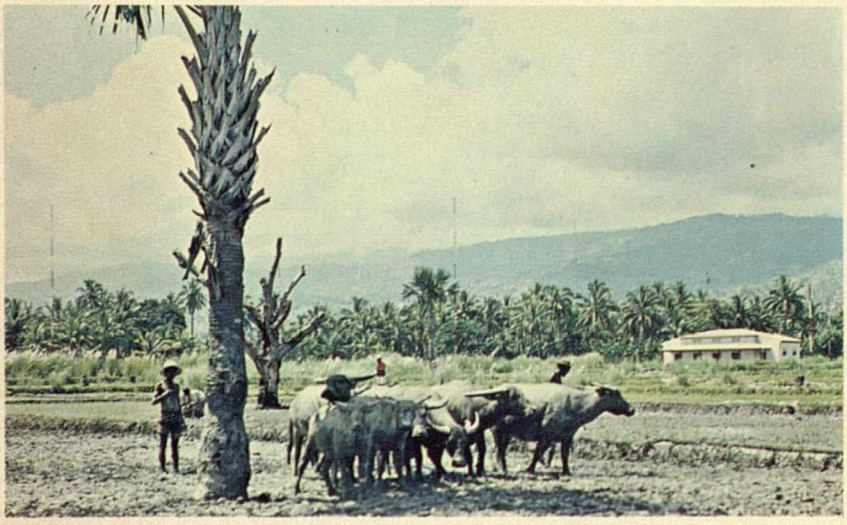
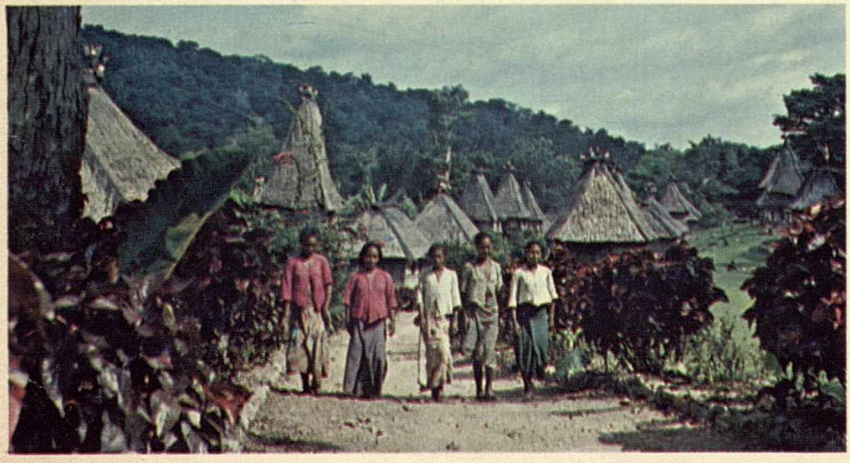
East Timor





Nikolau Lobato,
President of FRETILIN,
President of the Democratic Republic
of East Timor.

Homeland, Homeland!

Homeland, homeland!
East Timor, our nation
Glory to the people and the heroes
of our liberation.
Vanquish colonialism!
Down with imperialism:
a country free, a people free,
No, no, no to exploitation!
Advance united
firm and decisive
in the struggle against imperialism –
the enemy of the people –
to the final victory
by the revolutionary road.
Homeland, homeland!
East Timor, our nation
Glory to the people and the heroes
of our liberation.

This is the national anthem of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, which was performed publicly for the first time at the declaration of East Timor's independence in Dili, November 28, 1975.

East Timor

Alarico FERNANDES, minister of Information and National Security.

On December 7, 1975, an Indonesian force of 10,000 marines and paratroops—backed by American supplied warships and planes, French-supplied helicopters and British-supplied tanks—invaded East Timor.

Indonesia's invading army has grown to between 35,000 and 40,000 men. Yet more than two years after the December invasion, Indonesian forces occupy only 15 per cent of the territory, and more than 90 per cent of the 1,000,000 people of East Timor live in liberated areas.

However, the Indonesian invasion has been costly for East Timor. Most accounts—including that of the Indonesian government itself—agree that in little more than two years at least 50,000 and perhaps as many as 100,000 East Timorese—mainly women, children and the elderly—have been killed by the invading forces. During World War II as well, East Timor was partially occupied by Japanese and Australian troops that used the country as a battleground. The East Timorese fought heroically against foreign domination for nearly three years, a period during which 40,000 to 70,000 East Timorese were killed.

After almost 500 years of colonialism, the people of East Timor are facing aggression by a new would-be colonizer: the expansionist Indonesian military regime. An Indonesia that fought heroically for its independence from the Dutch and enjoyed wholehearted support from people around the world—including East Timor—is now seeking to deny the right of the people of East Timor to be free and independent.

This booklet attempts to offer the reader a knowledge of East Timor's history, the struggle of the people of East Timor against the Portuguese and Indonesian colonialists, and the mobilization of the masses by the FRENTE Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)—FRETILIN—in the struggle for national liberation.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The island of Timor lies some nine degrees south of the Equator, and has a total area of approximately 30,000 square kilometres. Politically, the western half of the island with the exception of the enclave of Oecusse Ambeno forms part of the Republic of Indonesia. **The area of the Democratic Republic of East Timor totals 18,899 square kilometres (7,400 square miles)** comprising the eastern half of the island together with the enclave of Oecusse in the north-west, the island of Atauro off the northern coast and the small uninhabited island of Jaco off the extreme eastern tip. Other than Indonesia with which East Timor shares a common border, its nearest neighbor is Australia; Darwin, the capital of Australia's Northern Territory, is roughly 300 miles southeast of Timor.

The population of the territory is roughly 1,000,000. As of December 1975 it was the third largest non-self-governing territory after Rhodesia and Namibia in the list of the Special Committee on Decolonization. Some 30 independent States of the United Nations have populations of below one million.

Except for a few thousand persons of Chinese, European and mixed ancestry most of the population is of Timorese origin. Physically the East Timorese display a mixture of Malay and Melanesian traits being, generally speaking, dark skinned and lightly built. Though **Portuguese has until now been the official language of East Timor, several indigenous languages are spoken, one of which, Tetum, together with Portuguese serves as** lingua franca. **Tetum belongs to the Austronesian group of languages and is related to Malay, though it is distinctly different to Bahasa Indonesia.**

The expansionist ambitions of Indonesia have been masked with false argumentation of a non-existent "ethnic and cultural similarity" between the people of East Timor and Indonesia. Indonesia herself is comprised of many nationalities with different ethnic and cultural origins. Her "national" identity is as much true as the one of Europe as a whole. Indonesia was but a creation of Dutch colonialism and the word Indonesia was borrowed from the Dutch Company "Dutch East Indies" that dominated the commerce in the archipelago.

For the people of East Timor an Indonesian is as much a stranger as an American. The Indonesian language is as much unknown as German. The Portuguese language is still understood by a great percentage of the local population. The people of East Timor have their own history, their culture, their language, forged in the course of centuries of an independent existence in relation to the neighboring countries. The people of East Timor are fundamentally of Melanesian-Austronasian origin, more akin to the people of Papua New Guinea and the other countries of the South Pacific and Indian Ocean region.

Most East Timorese are animist but, according to recent statistics, some 300,000 are Roman Catholics. The social organization of East Timor, outside the main population centres, displays many similarities to that prevailing in the island of New Guinea—group land ownership, group conflict resolution processes, close connection between garden tending, food gathering and harvesting, with ritual rites to ensure success of the outcome.

The Territory has deposits of copper, gold, manganese, petroleum and natural gas. The country is self-sufficient in food stuff, rice, corn, sweet potatoes, and so on. Its 630 kilometres of coastline is very rich in fish. For the time being, the main export is coffee, which is acknowledged to be the best in the world.

THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese have a long and destructive history in Asia. Portuguese traders were attracted to Timor by its sandalwood, but long before Vasco Da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, Timor was well known to the Chinese as their best source of the precious wood, and Chinese and Arab traders had a monopoly on its trade. After the portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511, they made yearly visits to Timor to pick up sandalwood to take to their colony of Macao on the China coast, where it was sold to Chinese merchants.

The first actual Portuguese settlement in the area was of Dominican friars, who built a fort at Solor on a nearby island, to shelter native converts. Around this fort a settlement grew up populated by the offspring of Portuguese soldiers, sailors and traders from Malacca and Macao who married local women. This class of "Black Portuguese" or "Topasses" played a very important role in Timorese history. With the coming of the Dutch in 1613, a great struggle for the control of the sandalwood trade commenced.

UPRISINGS AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE

Before "pacification" by the Portuguese some of the **liurais** were very powerful, particularly those who could organize their subjects to cut the sandalwood and deliver it to the coast. They gained a near monopoly in the cloth, iron and guns traded to the island. From 1895 to 1912 there was a largescale rebellion against Portuguese rule in Timor; it was led by a **liurai**, Dom Boaventura from the south-central Manufahi district, who eventually established a seat of government which lasted 18 months and covered an area of 16,000 hectares.

The rebellion was only quelled when two Portuguese troopships arrived from Mozambique and Lisbon in August, 1912. Over 3,000 East Timorese were killed and 4,000 captured for taking part in the rebel activities. **Dom Boaventura's widow, Queen Maria de Manufahi, is still active in the independence struggle today. She is, at 90 years old, a militant of Fretilin.**

During World War II, East Timorese fought alongside 300 Australian commandos who had been sent in to harass Japanese occupying troops. More than 40,000 East Timorese lost their lives defending their country against Japanese invasion. During the 1950's East Timor seemed to be returning to a quiet Portuguese colony, though there was an uprising in 1959 initiated by some genuine nationalist East Timorese. The rebellion was put down with 500 to 1,000 people killed.

FRETILIN—VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

FRETILIN was founded in January 1970 though it remained underground until the coup d'etat in

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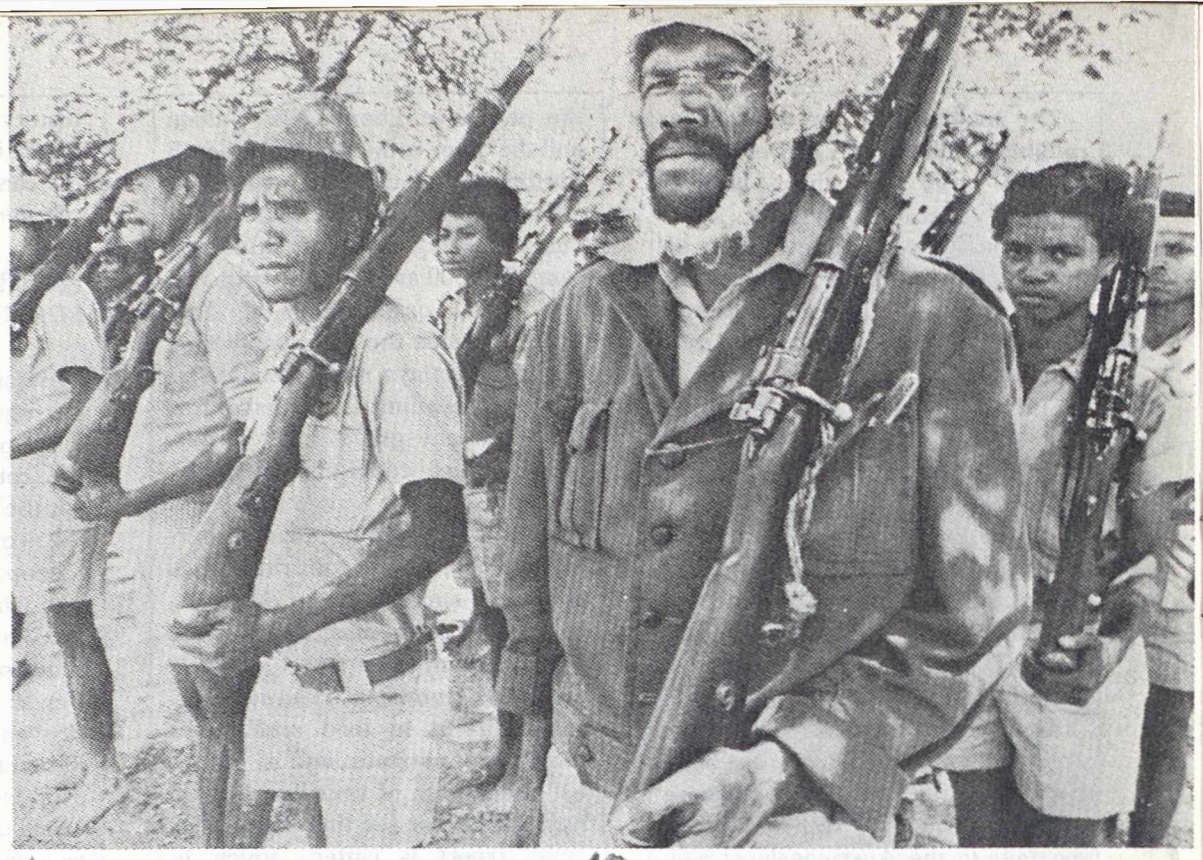


For over four centuries they fought the Portugese colonialists. During World War Two they fought Japanese expansionism. Now they are fighting Indoensian expansionism. Under the leadership of Fretilin many thousands of peasants wage a protracted guerrilla war against Indonesian armed aggression.

Portugal on April 25, 1974. Physically isolated from the progressive forces of Southeast Asia, the idea of armed struggle was beyond the historical realities. A half-island, under tight State policy surveillance, was not an encouraging situation, particularly once the situation in Indonesia changed from a progressive regime to a military-fascist dictatorship.

In the early stages of its existence, back in January 1970 until 1973, Fretilin did approach the Government of Indonesia through Indonesian diplomats accredited in Dili in order to gain support. It was disheartening to realise that the Indonesians that filled their aspirations of independence and freedom, the Indonesia that was born out of a long and bloody anticolonial struggle in the 1940's, the Indonesia that burned the fire of revolution in Southeast Asia, was no longer. For today's Indonesia shows only a painful picture—over half a million Indonesian patriots killed in 1965/66 and over one hundred thousand are still languishing in concentration camps throughout the archipelago. Indeed, Indonesia is no longer.

The people of East Timor just hope with anxiety that the people of Indonesia will rewrite their glorious history and again stand on the side of humanity and justice.

APODETI—the party of a war criminal

Following the Lisbon coup in 1974, a group of East Timorese with relatives and cattle interests in the Indonesian half of the island rushed to set up a "political association" baptized with the short name of APODETI. The group was led by a notorious figure, Arnaldo Araujo, 60 years old, who after World War II was sentenced by a Portuguese court to nine years jail for war crimes. Arnaldo Araujo was a notorious collaborator of the Japanese imperialist forces. Apodeti stood for "integration" of East Timor with Indonesia. It never enjoyed popular sympathy and by all accounts it would command less than 5 percent of support among the nearly one million East Timorese population.

UDT—the party of landlords

UDT, Uniao Democratica Timorense, was reminiscent of the banned fascist front—Accao Nacional Popular. Its leader was Mario Carrascalao, formerly a deputy chairman of the A.N.P. Carrascalao was the son of a wealthy coffee plantation owner andthe chairman of the fascist "People's Assembly." The vice-chairman was Augusto Mouzinho, former Mayor of Dili and owner of more than 10,000 cattle. more than 10,000 cattle.

UDT favoured "status quo" or a loose federation with Portugal and other Portuguese speaking countries, following the theory of Gen. Antonio de Spinola in his book "Portugal and the Future." However, as the latter was deposed in September 28, 1974, the federalist movement lost its theoretician and UDT's dream of a new empire of Portuguese speaking countries faded away.

FRETILIN-UDT coalition

On January 20, 1975, Fretilin and UDT established a coalition with a basic program towards independence. However, on May 28, 1975, after a visit to Jakarta by two UDT leaders—Lopes da Cruz, Chairman, and Augusto Mouzinho, Vice-Chairman—the coalition was ended unilaterally by UDT. Indonesian

generals Ali Murtopo and Pangabean bribed the two leaders and warned both of the "danger of Fretilin communism."

From the victory over anti-communist forces to resistance against foreign aggression

The night of August 10 to 11, 1975, UDT launched a military coup with the cooperation of the Portuguese provincial administration and the support of the Jakarta regime.

The aim of the coup was the murder or imprisonment of all the FRETILIN Central Committee members. This would facilitate the manoeuvers of the Indonesian Government against the East Timorese people.

The Central Committee of FRETILIN members retreated to the mountains, where the great masses of the people live. From there, it called on the Portuguese Government to restore order as a basic condition for a common effort in view of a political solution for the crisis. However, the so-called "Anti-Communist Movement" refused to cease hostilities against FRETILIN. Persecution and murder of FRETILIN supporters spread throughout the country.

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor declared on August 15, 1975, the General Armed Insurrection based on popular armed resistance.

The revolutionary counter-attack began.

From the border to Tutuala, from Oe-Cusse passing through Atauro to Jaco, all the Timorese patriots who had been conscripted into the colonial army joined FRETILIN. The Portuguese soldiers and officials who were in their headquarters were detained, and disarmed. Later they were set free. FRETILIN flags were raised aloft all the military barracks.

In less than three weeks all the territory of East Timor was under FRETILIN control, but Oe-Cusse and Atauro. The Portuguese Government fled the capital, Dili, to Atauro Island where it remained till the invasion. Some UDT leaders fled to West Timor, Indonesian territory, forcing a few thousand unarmed East Timorese to cross the border as well. The reactionary forces now looked for support from the Suharto regime since their Portuguese allies had deserted.

The Indonesians which as early as May 1974 had been considering a military solution for the East Timor problem, had just found the necessary pretext to do so. The "Anti-Communist Movement" would be the tool for a "successful" access to East Timor.

The military regime in Indonesia could not tolerate the existence of a state and a society truly free adjacent to Indonesia where prisons and concentration camps prevail. In addition, Indonesia and its western allies did not want to lose the great natural resources and the militarily strategic location of East Timor.

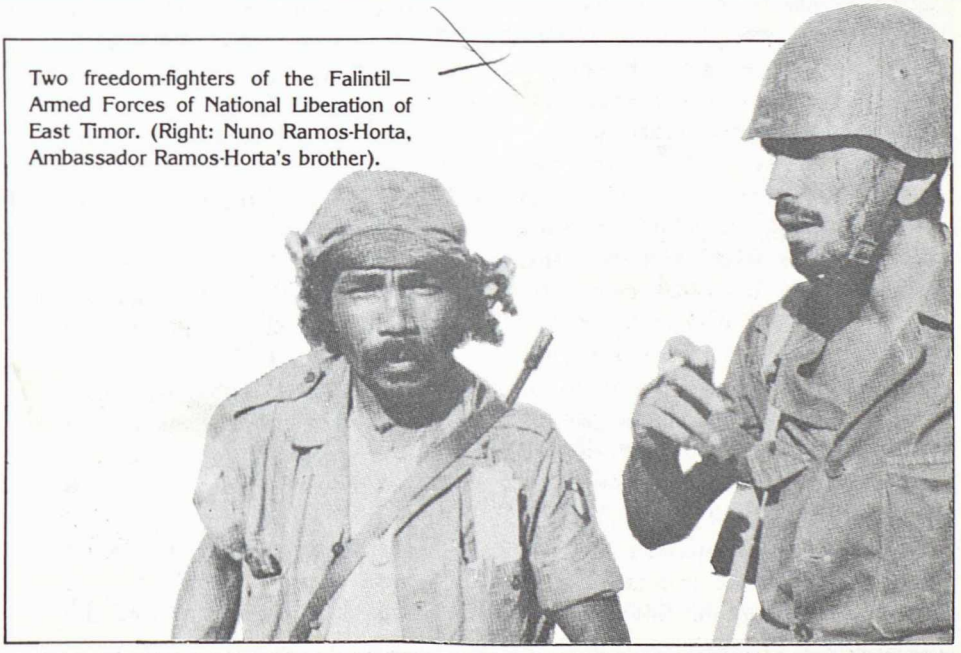
With Portuguese Government connivance and Washington's "green light," Indonesia began its aggression against East Timor through the border in the middle of September 1975.

FRETILIN advanced proposals for a political solution but Indonesia rejected them and intensified more and more its aggression. In the meantime the Portuguese government took no action. The border war proved the high capacity of FALINTIL, and it was the first test of demoralization for the Indonesian troops.

Facing the Portuguese Government's political defection and an imminent large-scale invasion by Indonesia, the Central Committee of FRETILIN declared the independence of the territory under the name of DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR, on November 28, 1975. A "de facto" legitimate power was thereby formalized. Several governments recognized the DRET.

Barely a week later, on December 7, Indonesian warships, aircraft, and artillery began massive bombardment of Dili, the capital, and Baucau, the second largest town. Some 10 thousand marines were landed on amphibious carriers along with tanks and armoured cars. On December 25, Indonesia launched a second, even more massive attack, involving at least 15,000 troops, warships, numerous planes, helicopters, tanks and armoured vehicles.

Indonesian forces were trapped in ambushes prepared by FRETILIN forces. In their advance, Indonesian



Two freedom-fighters of the Falintil—Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor. (Right: Nuno Ramos-Horta, Ambassador Ramos-Horta's brother).

forces occupied only the villages, leaving the fields under FRETILIN control. This gave FRETILIN the initiative to encircle the towns. Land communications between the villages and the towns were disrupted, thus obstructing the resupply of Indonesian troops. As a result of this, the number of Indonesian casualties became high and the first enthusiasm of easy victory turned to complete demoralization. The Indonesian Air Force, equipped with American-supplied OV-10 Bronco jets, intensified its attacks. The harbours in the south coast under FRETILIN control became targets of naval bombardment. Heavy artillery was put into maximum action. The number of Indonesian soldiers increased from 30,000 in April to 45,000 in June 1976.

More than 300,000,000 dollars have been spent on the war in East Timor in less than two years. Six helicopters and two airplanes were shot down. Tens of tanks and armoured cars were destroyed. Many other trucks were either knocked out or rescued. Huge stocks of weapons have been captured. Stocks of medical supplies have been apprehended as well. Electronic equipment has been captured.

Following the invasion of Timor in December 1975, a crime of genocide has been taking place in East Timor. Most sources confirm that as many as 100,000 people, mainly women, children and elderly, have been massacred by the Indonesian troops. Indonesian forces systematically lined up civilians on a Dili wharf and shot them. Near the airport, the Indonesians killed many people by simply throwing hand grenades into houses. Refugees have reported that it was common for Indonesian soldiers to round up young girls in trucks and rape them. The killings and rape of civilians extended throughout the country.

The Indonesian actions in East Timor can only be compared with the mass killings in Indonesia in 1965/66 when the very same regime of General Suharto came to power over the bodies of more than 1,000,000 Indonesians.

Mr. Mari Bin Hamad Alkatiri, Minister of External Relations of the DRET, said in an address before the U.N. Fourth Committee on November 3, 1977,

> "There are not many who struggle in such difficult conditions as the Maubere people under the leadership of FRETILIN. Because of this situation and because of the military and economic superiority of our enemy, many people had some difficulties in understanding our struggle. We are not in a hurry to convince them because we are aware that only the evolution of the war can be a major convincing argument. Today, the range of sympathy for our people increases day by day.
>
> "Almost two years since the beginning of the full-scale aggression against the capital of the young Democratic Republic of East Timor by the Jakarta regime, we can state that 85 percent of the national territory remains under the leadership of the Central Committee of FRETILIN. This reality can only be understood by those who know a bit of the capacity of the masses, when organized and mobilized. The **East Timor National Liberation Forces**—FALINTIL—comprises a **Regular** Army of several thousand members, who constitute a mobile force, supported by the **People's Militias,** in charge of the defense of each Military Region, and by **self-Defense Forces**, which are made up of the great majority of the people, fighting with all available weaponry. Thus, the great majority of the people have been mobilized and organized by and around the Central Committee of FRETILIN.
>
> "Given the real situation in which we are living, our country has been divided into several Military Regions, that is to say, Political Commissariats. Each Political Commissariat is directed, at a superior level, by a Political Commissar, who must be a member of the Central Committee and Political Committee of FRETILIN.
>
> "While we organize the masses in the countryside in order to encircle the urban centers, still in Indonesian control, we have waged in Dili, the capital, and in Baucau, the second major town, a form of urban guerrilla warfare that has caused the disruption of the enemy structures and the consolidation of their positions.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE LIBERATED AREAS

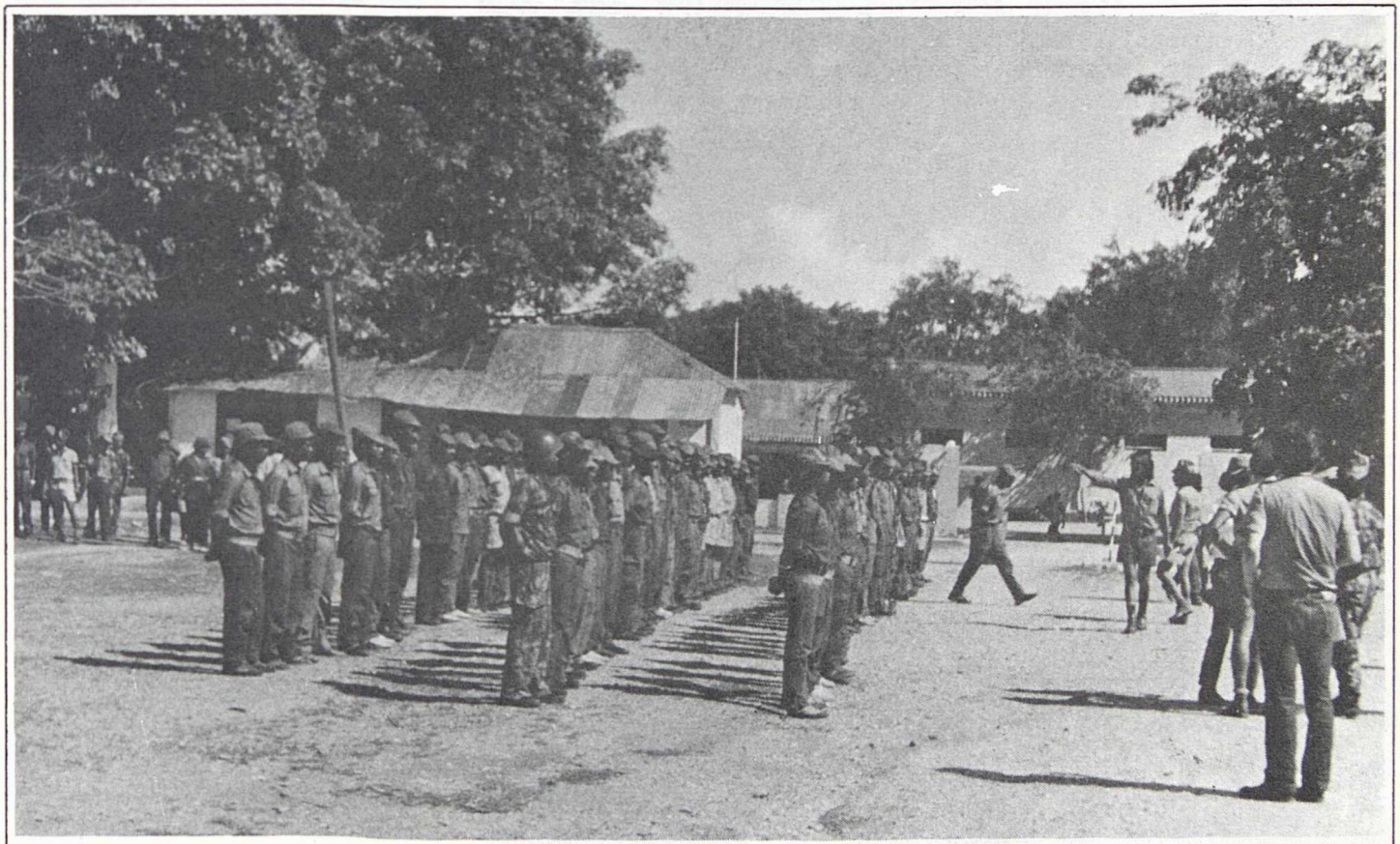
Ninety percent of the people of East Timor were left illiterate by the Portuguese. During the first months of 1975, Fretilin began establishing basic literacy schools throughout the country. The schools were often built by enthusiastic villagers with volunteer labor. While learning to read and write, farmers, farm workers, women, all members of rural society were also learning about the politics of colonialism, the rights of independence, the need for cooperative social and economic actions, the need for increased production of basic commodities, and the right of social and economic justice for the poor—who included nearly all those in the mountains and the vast majority of those in the countryside. Students from Dili won the support of many villagers also by collecting local folklore and using it as part of the reading material—literally carrying out FRETILIN's promise to "decolonize education." In the Portuguese mission schools,

students were beaten for using Tetum, the main local language.

In the liberated areas, the Maubere people organized by FRETILIN work tenaciously to increase production, to improve health and to combat illiteracy. In the agricultural sector, the Ministry of Agriculture and Veterinary directs the implementation of the projects of agricultural diversification approved by the political committee of FRETILIN in its meeting of May 1976. The entire people are organized in cooperative of production, distribution and consumption. The distribution and consumption are regulated by the Central and Regional warehouses of the cooperatives. The exchange of products follows a bill elaborated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Veterinary and approved by the National Conference of Cooperatives in its meeting held in June 1976. Animal husbandry follows the guidelines laid down by the National Conference of Cooperatives. The slaughter is controlled by the same Ministry through the National Department of Animal Husbandry.

Under the guidance of the Ministry of Work and Health, a national school for para-medics has been created and over 350 people have graduated after a two year course. Traditional medicine has been developed. Fifty field hospitals have been set up. The combat against malaria and tuberculosis has begun. The public health and preventive medicine services have been created and extended. Thirty creches and 10 kindergartens were set up throughout the national territory. Under the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Culture tens of literacy brigades have been created. Over 350 literacy schools have been established. The illiteracy rate has decreased from 95% in 1974 to 75% in 1977. Twenty percent of the population has learned to read and write during two years of war. The primarty education, in spite of didactic difficulties, has been intensified. Over 250 primary school teachers have graduated. Secondary schools have met serious difficulties in view of our isolation from the outside world. However, some 350 students are studying at the secondary level.

This is a very brief account of the victories achieved by the people of East Timor in the social and economic fields. Only this way it has been possible to sustain the war. Simultaneously with the armed struggle against the aggressors the people are organized in production, health, education, sports, etc. In sustaining the war the East Timorese are working towards national reconstruction and consolidation of their national independence.



THE FALINTIL, the military wing of FRETILIN, is directed by the Supreme Council of Struggle which is responsible for military affairs. It is made up of political-military commanders and commissars.

The people of East Timor are mobilized and organized for a long and protracted people's war.

EAST TIMOR AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Mari Bin Hamud Alkatiri, Minister of External Relations of the DRET, addressing the Fourth Committee of the UN on November 3, 1977.

"...the government of the Republic of Indonesia did not comply with the United Nations resolutions and has carried on its expansionist war of aggression against East Timor in a naked defiance of the international community....No country, under any pretext, should interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, let alone annex them. One of the arguments of the Indonesian leaders in their "annexation" of East Timor has been that East Timor "is a small country" without "economic viability." This point of view prevails among other western countries. Meanwhile, Indonesia has rushed to establish agreements with Australian, American and British oil firms for the exploration of oil and natural gas in the maritime platform and within our economic zone. Furthermore, there are some 100 countries of small and medium size in the United Nations. Among these 30 have equal or less territory and population than East Timor. Should these small and medium sized states—some of which do not want to understand the legitimacy of our struggle—be wiped out from the map to satisfy the expansionist ambitions of larger countries? (...)

"The invasion of East Timor and the attempt of annexation by Indonesia is a violation of the United Nations Charter. The existence of many small states has been guaranteed by a scrupulous adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter by all Member States. Many countries in the world have inherited their boundaries from the ancient colonial powers. Indonesia inherited her boundaries from the so-called Dutch East Indies. East Timor was a Portuguese colony. It was never a Dutch

colony. No country of the third world is freed from the constant threat of violation of its boundaries and occupation of parts or the whole territory by other powers. Only cohesive movement of all United Nations Member States in enforcing the defense of the territorial integrity of each country, of the inviolability of the boundaries inherited from colonialism, can guarantee peace and security in the various continents, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The invasion of East Timor and the attempt of annexation of the territory by the Republic of Indonesia should be in the mind of all United Nations Member States as a warning of the need to enforce the respect for sovereignty of the states and for the right of the people to determine their own destiny freely.

"The aggression and occupation of parts of the national territory of East Timor by the armed forces of Indonesia is as much illegal as the occupation of Namibia by the racist forces of South Africa, of Zimbabwe by the racist and colonial forces of Ian Smith and of Palestine and the Arab territories by the Zionists. To condemn the aggression against the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine and not to condemn Indonesian aggression against the people of East Timor is an obvious contradiction that might discredit the international community."

Statement by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau before the 32nd session of the General Assembly:

Last year, on the occasion of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, I raised with some apprehension the question of East Timor and said how concerned my Government was by the situation in that country. Today we have to say that despite the appeal from the United Nations to Indonesia that country, deaf and insensible, continues its illegal occupation of East Timor, and thousands of Timorese people, women, children and the aged, are dying or still suffering under the fire and the arrogant boots of the Indonesian armed forces. This unjust war imposed on a people which, after having known and endured the long and tragic night of colonialism were calmly preparing to faces courageously the no less terrible problems of development constitutes in our opinion a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The very idea that, for reasons of political, military or economic convenience, a country can annex another independent country and trample underfoot the most elementary principles governing human relations is inadmissible and calls for the strongest possible condemnation.

In our opinion the United Nations must take appropriate measures with a view to going to the assistance of the people of East Timor who, under the leadership and the impetus of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN), is conducting a heroic struggle to repel the Indonesian aggressors and to build a land of peace and progress. But it must be emphasized that in this war it is not simply a matter of the interests of the victims of aggression and those who are carrying out the aggression; there are also other interests at stake which are better concealed because they are more perfidious in nature, and they should be brought into the open and condemned with equal severity.

The Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau firmly support FRETILIN and the people of Timor in their struggle for true independence and express again their unremitting solidarity with the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

(A/32/PV. 29, 11 October 1977)

Statement by His Excellency the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel, before the 32nd session of the General Assembly:

In East Timor, after almost two years of military invasion by Indonesia, the Maubere people are resisting heroically. That occupation was launched, not as an anti-colonial act against Portuguese domination, but after the collapse of colonialism.

We firmly support the fight of the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor and call on the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops and establish relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation with that country. (A/32/PV.17, 3 October 1977)

Statement by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Medeiros Ferreira, before the 32nd session of the General Assembly:

In the Far East my country still maintains formal responsibilities with respect to the Territory of East Timor. As we have repeatedly stated, Portugal has no claims or interests there other than wishing to conclude, in the best possible manner, the process of decolonization of all the non-self-governing Territories under its administration. We believe that this can be achieved only by respect for the right of the Timorese people to self-determination and independence, as stated in resolution 1514 (XV), applicable to all peoples under colonial domination. In the circumstances that are known to all, this can only take place through compliance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this matter. (A/32/PV.11, 28 September 1977)

Statement by His Excellency the Permanent Representative of Guinea, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotenciary, Mr. Moussa S. Camara, before the 32nd session of the General Assembly:

In East Timor, foreign invading forces still occupy the country, despite the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for their withdrawal and the respect by all States for the territorial integrity of East Timor and for the inalienable right of its people to self-determination and independence.

The Republic of Guinea, which has already recognized East Timor as an independent, sovereign State, reiterates here its unwavering support for the people of Timor in its legitimate struggle to regain its independence and territorial integrity under the leadership of Fretilin.

Statement by His Excellency the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Yen Sari, of the Democratic Kampuchea, before the 32nd session of the General Assembly:

Among the problems of decolonization, the problem of East Timor continues to concern countries which have known foreign domination and to confront the conscience of peoples that prize independenc and justice. The aggressors continue to violate the independence, the soveriegnty and the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. They continue to violate the principles of non-alignment and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations. We reaffirm our support for the struggle of the people of East Timor, carried on under the leadership of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, to recover its independence and the right to decide its own destiny.

Our support rests on the principle that no country should use either the size of its territory or its population as a pretext for acts of aggression or annexation against the territories of other countries or attempt to absorb such a territory. That is a position of principle. We do not believe that support for a small country with a small population like East Timor, should come into conflict with self-interest and consequently suffer neglect. We consider the defence of the indcpendence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of East Timor as being the defence of the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, great and small, that is stipulated in the United Nations Charter and that conforms to the principles of non-alignment. (A/32/PV.28, 11 October 1977)

Excerpts of the statement by the Representative of the Republic of Barbados before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, on November 2, 1977:

"Mr. Chairman, the technique of smearing organisations and individuals by using the word "communist" in a pejorative sense is as hoary and discredited as McCartheyism itself. It has been used in the case of East Timore to carry out the expansionist plans of Indonesia. It constitutes a denial of the fundamental principle enshrined in the U.N. Charter of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country and Barbados condemns the arrogance of Indonesia in this regard.

"Mr. Chairman, there were powerful economic motivations for Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor. East Timor is known to have immense deposits of oil, natural gas and other minerals such as manganese, copper and gold. Its oil has attracted the interest of a number of multi-national corporations which have been granted concessions to conduct explorations for oil within East Timor's economic zone. Woodside-Burmah, an Anglo-Australian Corporation, has announced the discovery of major oil deposits 10 miles off the coast of East Timor. An Australian business Weekly Review, "The Financial Review", reported on May 12, 1977, that the "island itself has great economic promise."

One of the most shameful consequences of the economic factor has been the ignominious silence of countries that profess to respect human rights and the principle of territorial integrity about the invasion and military occupation of East Timor. Yet, Mr. Chairman, some fifty thousand troops armed with sophisticated weapons have been unable to establish domination over a population of less than one million persons, most of whom are peasants, without the kind of modern weapons that their enemies possess. This fact in itself, after nearly two years of fighting is a clear and unequivocal statement by the East Timorese that they do not want to live under Indonesian hegemony.

Mr. Chairman, the intransigence of Indonesia in refusing to comply with the wishes of international public opinion poses a serious problem to this organisation in its role as the guardian of international peace and security. This conduct is particularly grave in its implications for small states such as Barbados. For if it is possible for a more powerful state to use its military capacity to annex the territory of a small state and then the world does nothing about because it is presented with a fait accompli, then there are millions of people in small states today whose freedom and the enjoyment of self-determination are imperiled.

Mr. Chairman, Barbados believes that freedom is indivisible and if the rights of people in a small state are trampled upon with impunity by a larger state, then the freedom of men living everywhere is to that extent diminished.

Barbados calls upon Indonesia not only to respect the inviolability of Colonial boundaries in East Timor, as well as desist from the specious irredentist and bogus legal claims which it advances. Barbados further calls upon Indonesia to

respect the well established principles embodied in all the relevant U.N. resolutions without delay thereby hastening the day when the Democratic Republic of East Timor would take its rightful place in this Organisation as an independent member of the family of nations.

Mr. Chairman, the phenomenon of former colonies embarking on imperialist adventures of land-grabbing and the extermination of people who fight for their independence is one of the most distressing features in the Third World today. Frantz Fanon, the great Caribbean thinker, well explains the existence of this pathology within erstwhile colonies. Fanon cogently argues that the declasse petit-bourgeois elites, which replace the departing metropolitan bourgeoisie in the former colony, are invariably without a base among the masses, are utterlybankrupt with respect to ideas of national development and therefore are reduced to aping the practices of their former imperialist masters.

Mr. Chairman, the paradox of ex-colonies relentlessly carrying through imperialistic objectives finds brutal expression in the tragedy of the Western Sahara where the right of self-determination of the Saharan people is trampled underfoot to the accompaniment of cacophony of gunfire, carnage, specious sociological claims and legal mumbo-jumbo. Barbados categorically rejects all claims to Western Sahara except those of POLISARIO which is the only organism representative of the people of Western Sahara and we are pledged to support all efforts toward the achievement of the independence of a Western Sahara free from alien domination.

Statement by His Excellency the Deputy Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Mr. Lai Ya-li, before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, on 3 November 1977:

At present, under the leadership of FRETILIN, the people of East Timor are waging a heroic and unremitting struggle in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their own country, continuously dealing heavy blows at the invaders. Facts have shown that the ardent will of the people of East Timor to fight for independence and freedom cannot be bent by any form of reactionary violence. Their just struggle against foreign aggression has won the ever growing sympathy and support of the large number of countries and peoples of the third world.

The Chinese government and people resolutely support the just struggle of the people of East Timor to safeguard their national independence, defend their state sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose foreign aggression and intervention. We hold that the Indonesian government should implement the relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, and withdraw all its troops of aggression, so that the people of East Timor can exercise their right to self-determination and independence, free from any foreign intervention.

Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of East Timor are both developing countries, belonging to the third world. The peoples of the two countries shared the same fate in history, having both suffered under colonial domination in the past....**We have every reason to hope and request the Republic of Indonesia, which attained independence earlier, to immediately cease its aggression and expansion against East Timor and establish and develop normal and good-neighborly relations with East Timor in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence.** This will not only be in the interests of the people of East Timor but also in the interests of the people of Indonesia.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[on the report
of the Fourth Committee
(A/32/357)]

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 Decem ber 1960,

Having examined the chapter of the report of the Special Committe on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the Territory, *1/*

Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal *2/* and Indonesia, *3/*

Having also heard the statements of the representatives of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente, *4/*

Mindful that all states should, in conformity with Article 2, par agraph 4, of the Charter, refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Deeply concerned at the continuing critical situation in the Territory, resulting from the persistent refusal on the part of the Government of Indonesia to comply with the provisions of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 3485 (XXX) of 12 December 1975 and 31/53 of 1 December 1976 and Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) of 22 December 1975 and 389 (1976) of 22 April 1976,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right

of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independen dence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right;

2. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 3485 (XXX) and 31/53 and Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976);

3. *Rejects* the claim that East Timor has been integrated into Indonesia, inasmuch as the people of the Territory have not been able to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence;

4. *Requests* the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declara tion on the Granting of Indepen dence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep the situation in the Territory under active considera tion, to follow the implementation of the present resolution, to dispatch to the Territory as soon as possible a visiting mission with a view to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee, in the meantime to send urgently a special representative to East Timor for the purpose of making a thorough, on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation in the Territory and of establishing contact with the representatives of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente and the Government of Indonesia, as well as the Governments of other States concerned, in order to prepare the ground for a visiting mission of the Special Committee, and to report thereon to the Special Committee;

6. *Draws the attention* of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, to the critical situation in the Territory of East Timor and recommends that it should take all effective steps for the implementation of its resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) with a view to securing the full exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination and independence;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of Indonesia and the leadership of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente to facilitate the entry into East Timor of the International Committee of the Red Cross and other relief organizations in order to assist the people of the Territory;

8. *Decides* to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-third session the item entitled "Question of East Timor."

Jose SILVA, Army Chief of Staff of FALINTIL, East Timor's Liberation Armed Forces

ANNEX V

PROGRAMME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF EAST TIMOR

The Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) is a fore-front movement which interprets the profoundest aspirations of the people of East Timor to be free from political, cultural and economic colonisation and other forms of domination and exploitation.

FRETILIN, being the only legitimate representative of the people of East Timor, aims to develop all efforts in order to be the only valid mouthpiece in the process of de-colonisation which, to be authentic, must adhere to the following program:

I. IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE DEJURE BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

FRETILIN interprets independence de jure as the formal recognition that the only way for the future of East Timore is total Independence. Until this is achieved, FRETILIN will have the cooperation of the Portuguese Government to implement the program of reconstruction and development of the country. FRETILIN will discuss with the Portuguese Government the best form of this cooperation.

II. RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

A. Basic Policies

1) Gradual elimination of colonial relations and structures and the active struggle against the establishment of new forms of domination and exploitation.

2) Creation of new political, economic and social structures which will serve the interests of the people of East Timor.

3) Resort to the Portuguese Government, foreign governments and international organisations to obtain economic, financial and diplomatic support for the implementation of the program of

reconstruction and development.
4) FRETILIN reserves the right to control and orientate the implementation of this program through the existing departments, or other to be created to guarantee its fulfilment.
5) FRETILIN also reserves the right to administrate independently and without interference of their funds.
B. Specific Measures
1. Economic Reconstruction:
a) Creation of social economic and technical structures.
b) Creation of co-operatives. The co-operatives will be the base of the economic and social life of East Timor. Co-operatives of production, distribution and consumption will be set up throughout the country.
c) Elimination of the excessive dependency on foreign countries. Incentives will be given to the production of goods of basic needs through diversified agriculture. Mono agriculture will be discouraged.
d) Agrarian reform. All large farms will be expropriated and returned to the people and will be used within the co-operative system. Fertile lands not under cultivation will be distributed to the people and will be utilised in co-operatives or by State enterprises.
e) Agricultural mechanisation.
f) Promotion of fishing and cattle.
g) Protection of all flora and fauna. Reafforestation and introduction of new species.
h) Development of food manufacturing industries (milk, cheese, butter, canned meats, fish and fruits), by the utilisation of national resources. Also, the utilisation of forests for timber and the manufacture of timber products, including furniture and paper. Local industry, including native handicrafts and weaving, will be promoted and geared to a rapid economic and social development.
i) Commercial exploitation will be stopped, prices controlled and a new fiscal system introduced. Control of commerce.
j) Internal commerce: Co-operatives will ensure the distribution of national and imported goods.
k) Exports will be organised through the Central Co-operative in Dili, which will receive all products and produce from the regional co-operatives for export.
l) Imports: The Central Co-operative will handle all imports and will distribute them to the regional co-operatives.
m) Balance of Payments: Imports will be strictly controlled.
n) Introduction of a national currency.

2. Education and Culture:
a) Elimination of the colonialist education system. This will be replaced by a system which will serve all people. At the same time, Timorese culture will be maintained, fostered and encouraged.
b) An extensive program will be initiated to eliminate illiteracy and ignorance among people of all ages.
c) A university and technical colleges will be established and scholarships awarded for study in overseas countries.
d) The Portuguese language will be retained as the official language of the country.
e) A program of research and study will be made into the Tetum language, as well as other local languages. A further aim is the fostering of literature and art of the various ethnic groups through cultural exchanges for the enrichment not only of Timorense culture as a whole, but also as a contribution of universal culture.
f) Physical education and sports will be encouraged.
g) All citizens will have free choice of religion. Native religious houses, churches, mosques and temples will be protected.

3. Health:
a) Clinics and hospitals will be established throughout the country. A mobile doctor service also to be formed to serve outling areas.
b) Immediate steps will be taken to eradicate prevalent diseases including leprosy, TB and malaria.
c) Timorese will be encouraged to train as doctors and nurses in foreign countries. Foreign doctors will be invited to work for varying periods of tims.
d) Children, invalids and the aged will be protected.
e) Free medical assistance will be given to all citizens.
f) All health services will be controlled by the State.
4. Social Justice:
a) Gradual elimination of exploitation.
b) Forced labour will be abolished immediately.
c) Wages will be determined by the State on the basis of equal work, equal pay for both sexes.
d) Women workers will be paid wages during and after pregnancy.
e) Educational programs will be launched to help combat alcoholism, vagrancy, prostitution and gambling.
f) Traditional institutions of justice will be preserved and protected and improved by international law.
g) Organisations for workers, women, students and youths will be established so that every person will actively contribute to the political life of the country.
5. Internal Administration:
a) Abolition of the colonial administrative structure.
b) Division of the territory of East Timor into regions.
c) The regions to be administered by representatives from both FRETILIN and the Portuguese Government. Regional committees of FRETILIN will launch the basis for a democratic administration and will ensure the implementation of the program of reconstruction and development in each region.
6. National Defence:
a) The defence of the territories of East Timor will be guaranteed by the armed forces, which will serve the people.
b) The armed forces will protect the rights of people.
c) The armed forces will defend the rights of the people by securing peace and order necessary for the implementation of this program.
d) Restructure of the armed forces.

Following Indonesia's military aggression against the Democratic Republic of East Timor, the United Nations' Security Council held a series of meetings, condemning Indonesia's action, and demanding complete withdrawal of its Armed Forces from the territory. Picture: Former Minister of External Relations of DRET, Jose Ramos Horta, addressing the Security Council.

III. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Non-alignment.
2. Good neighbour policy and non-interference.
3. Co-operation with all countries in world.

IV. PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

FRETILIN reserves the right to decide the date of the proclamation of independence of East Timor.

A. Sovereign and Independent State

1) Republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Government.
2) General elections for a constitutional assembly through direct and secret universal suffrage.
3) Equality of all citizen before law.
4) Organisations and groups which support the annexation of the country to a foreign power will be forbidden to exercise political activities.
5) Protection of all citizens in foreign countries.

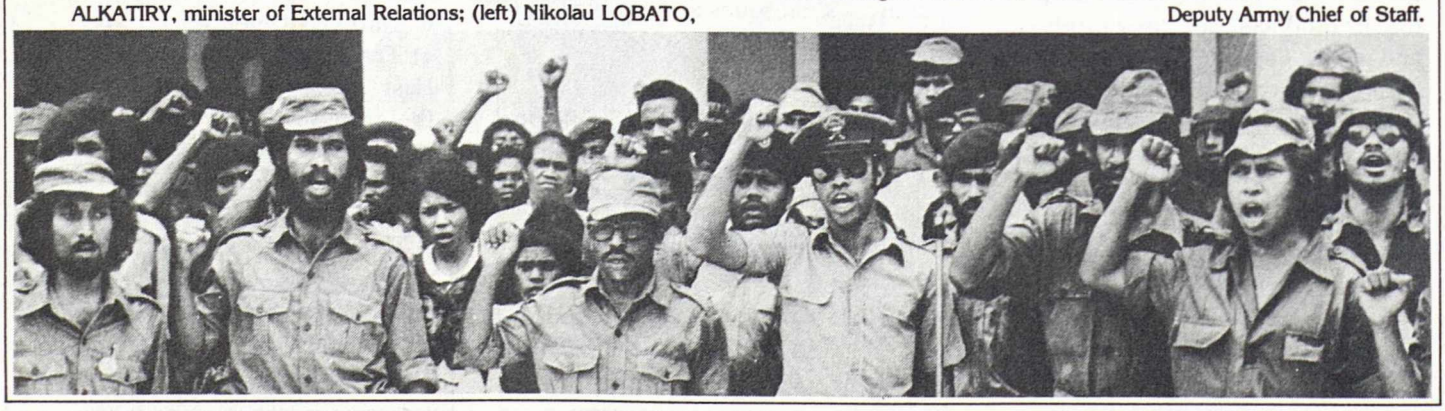
Indonesian forces in some of the areas of heavy fighting have been encircled. Several other Indonesian positions have been destroyed and some other villages recaptured by FRETILIN, such as Uatukarbau, Uatolari, Vemassi, Laleia.

EAST TIMOR

LAND AREA: 18,899 square kilometres (7,400 square miles)
POPULATION: 1,000,000*
ECONOMY: Agriculture - rice, corn, potatoes, peanuts, beans, etc., fishing and cattle breeding. Mining surveys by foreign firms have confirmed the existence of large deposits of oil, natural gas and other minerals. Main exports: coffee and timber.
LANGUAGE: Tetun and Portuguese. Indonesian language is absolutely alien to the East Timorese people. Culturally and ethnically the East Timorese belong to the Melanesian and Astronesian stock, more akin to the peoples of Papau New Guinea and other South Pacific islands than to Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc.

*Portuguese statistics of 1965 indicated a population of 670,000. This figure is not accurate, since many tens of thousands of East Timorese never registered themselves in order to evade the colonial tax. A more recent and nation-wide census conducted by FRETILIN indicates a population of about 1,000,000.

On November 28, 1975, the Central Committee of FRETILIN proclaimed East Timor's independence. Picture: Mr. Hamud ALKATIRY, minister of External Relations; (left) Nikolau LOBATO, President of FRETILIN and Head of State; F. Xavier do Amaral, former leader; Rogerio LOBATO, former Defence minister; Guido SOARES, Deputy Army Chief of Staff.



Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor

The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor outlines the structure of its government and the fundamental rights and responsibilities of its citizens.

The DRET is, according to the Constitution, "a sovereign and indivisible nation, anticolonialist, antineocolonialist and anti-imperialist." It is a nation "born through a strong popular resistance against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, under the leadership of the sole legitimate vanguard of the Maubere people—the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN)."

The government is guided by FRETILIN's political orientation, which is dedicated to the thorough destruction of all colonial institutions. This is to be done with the purpose of creating a new society, free of all forms of domination and exploitation.

FALINTIL* the National Liberation Armed Forces, is responsible both for national defense and for contributing, together with the masses of people, to the process of national reconstruction. The President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor is the commander-in-chief of FALINTIL.

Noting that the majority of the East Timorese people are peasants, the Constitution mandates that agriculture will form the base for the national economy. At the same time, industry is also seen as a decisive factor in developing the economy.

All natural resources in East Timor are the property of the state and, according to the Constitution, the state will determine the conditions for their development and use. In addition, property formerly belonging to the colonialists or to national traitors, or that abandoned during the armed struggle, is also transformed into state property.

The state has the responsibility of formulating a national economic plan for development of the country in accordance with the interests of the East Timorese people. The state will also promote a national campaign against illiteracy and ignorance, and turn culture into an instrument of liberation. Development of a national health care system accessible to all is also the responsibility of the state.

The Constitution states that East Timorese women are to be considered equal to men in rights and responsibilities, and in all sociopolitical activities. Freedom of religion is also guaranteed to all citizens, with a clear separation of church and state.

In international relations, the Democratic Republic of East Timor will develop fraternal and cooperative relations with all progressive and democratic forces in the world, which it considers its natural allies.

The East Timorese government will also establish cooperative relations with all countries, based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and noninterference in internal affairs. The precise borders and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of East Timor are also defined in the Constitution.

In setting forth the rights and responsibilities of its citizens, the East Timorese Constitution emphasizes that there will be total equality, with no discrimination on the basis of race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, educational level, social position or occupation.

Collaboration with the enemies of the state will be considered treason, according to the document. All citizens, moreover, have the right and duty to participate in the process of national reconstruction and the building of the new society. And all citizens are guaranteed the right of free speech, thought and association.

All citizens over 15 years of age have the right to vote, and all those over 20 have the right to hold office. All citizens, regardless of sex, also have the right and responsibility to participate in the Revolution and contribute to the defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The state, at the same time guarantees all citizens the right to work and to have an education that will combat the heritage of colonialism. And the government will care for all those wounded in the war of national liberation, and also the families of those killed in the struggle.

The Constitution also guarantees the inviolability of citizen's homes, and the right of all accused to a fair trial. All counterrevolutionary acts, those opposing the interests of the people, will be severely punished, according to the document.

The Constitution also defines the structure of the state, with a Popular Assembly to function as the supreme organ of state power. This body will consist of: the Central Committee of FRETILIN, the ministers and vice-ministers of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, regional administrators, representatives of the military and of each regional subcommittee.

An absolute majority of the Popular Assembly is necessary for agreement on policy.

The functions of the Popular Assembly include: determining the basic domestic and international policy of the country; overseeing the application of the economic, social, political and cultural line developed by FRETILIN; coordination of decisions adopted by other organs of the state. The organs of legislative power are to be the Central Committee of FRETILIN, the Popular Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

The President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor is also the

President of FRETILIN, and is a symbol of national unity, whose duties are specifically defined in the Constitution.

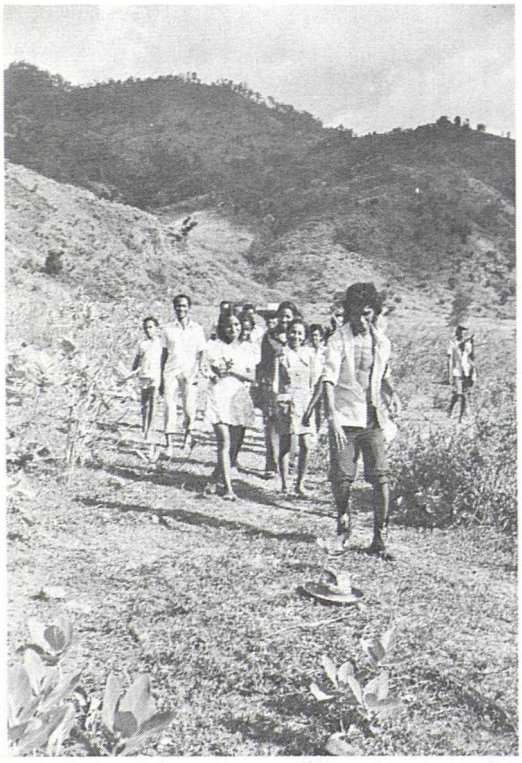
Judicial functions are to be carried out by Tribunals, including a Supreme Court of Justice, which will promote a uniform code for all judicial bodies.

With the adoption of the Constitution on Nov. 28, 1975, all laws which contradict it were revoked. The principal task of the Constitution and the government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor is to end all forms of domination and exploitation of man by man, and to promote and defend the interests of the people and insure the integrity of the country and the unity of the East Timorese nation.

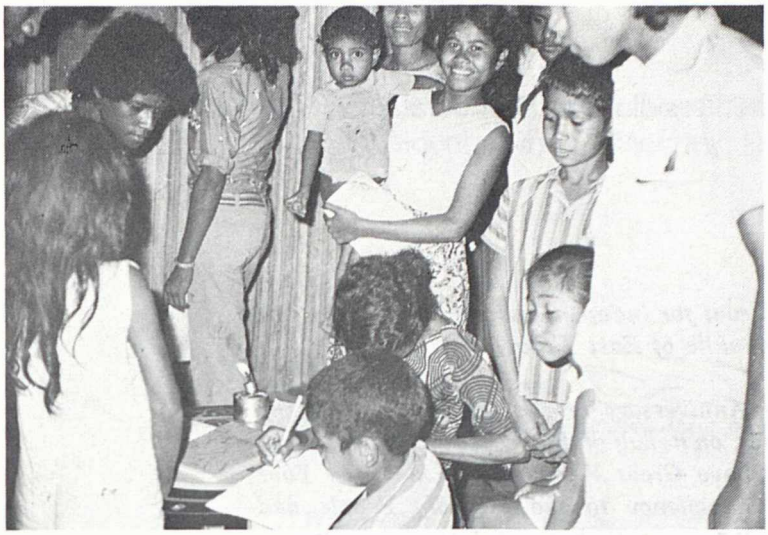
Students' brigades work among the peasants. A water pipe is being laid down bringing water from the spring to the village. For centuries the 400 people in the village of Atara, near the boarder with West Timor, never had easy access to water. Dozens of other villages throughout East Timor have now solved the problem of water.

Centuries of Portuguese neglect left East Timor with an illiteracy rate of 95%. In parallel with the armed struggle, FRETILIN's Central Committee launched a nation wide struggle against illiteracy and obscurantism.

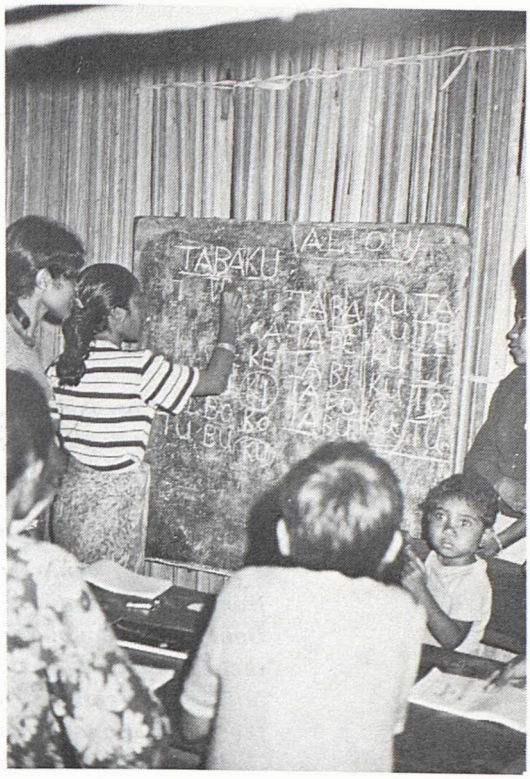
Student's brigades move from village to village helping the peasants to set up schools, irrigation systems, health centers and cooperatives of production.



As a result of FRETILIN's extensive literacy campaign, illiteracy has decreased from 95% to70% in two years, in spite of overwhelming odds of the war.



The people want to learn to read and write. A nation of illiterates is a nation without a strong cultural basis. Culture is also a weapon in the struggle for national liberation against foreign domination.



Although Portuguese remains the official language of East Timor, Tetun, which is spoken by the great majority of the people, must be put into writing so that everybody can have access to newspapers, magazines and other publications. To eliminate Tetun. or to neglect it would be a criminal colonial attitude.

In the struggle for national liberation, culture plays an extremely important role. In East Timor, cultural resistance to Portuguese domination was highly successful. In spite of 500 years of a ruthless colonial rule aimed at the destruction of the national identity, East Timorese culture survived almost untouched.

Message from the President of the Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea

His Excellence
President of the Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor and
President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor

On the occasion of the First Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, on Behalf of the People and Government of Democratic Kampuchea, we have Great Pleasure to Extend to Your Excellency and Through Your Excellency to the Friendly People and Government of East Timor our Warmest Wishes and Congratulations.

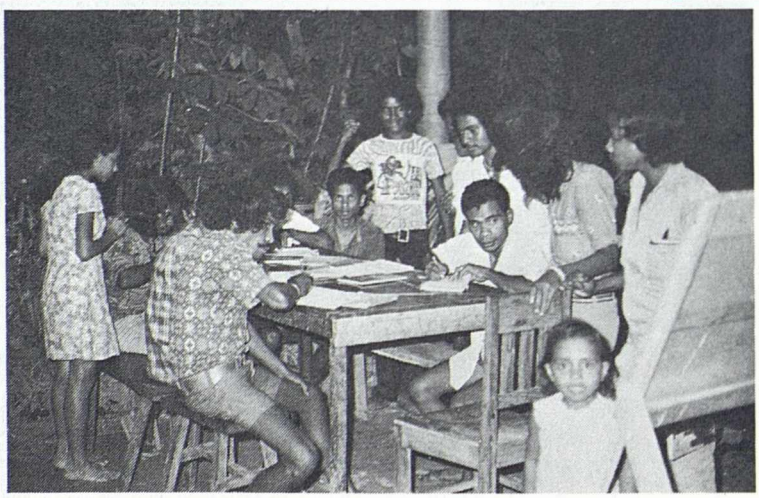
After their courageous and stubborn struggle to liberate their country from the Portuguese Colonialist Yoke and after the founding of the DemocraticRepublic of East Timor have heroically and resolutely carried on their struggle against the act of aggression and annexation from outside, inflicting defeats over defeats on the enemy and extremely isolating them on the International Arena.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to reaffirm our resolute support to the struggle of the People and Government of East Timor, under the leadership of Fretilin, against all foreign aggression and other manoeuvres of annexation until the complete achievement of their National Independence Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity.

We would like to convey to your excellence our best wishes for good health, longevity and great success of the People of East Timor in their task for a complete and definitive liberation of their country.

Highest consideration

KHIEU
President of the Presidium
of the state of Democratic Kampuchea



A literacy school somewhere in the district of Alieu, East Timorese learn to read and write in their own language, Tetun.

Letter of the President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

Ha Noi, January 27, 1976.

To His Excellency,
President of FRETILIN,
President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor,
Your Excellency,

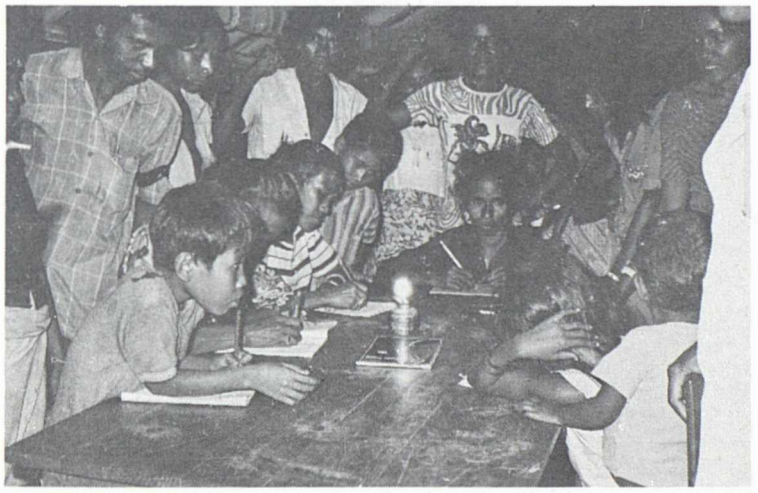
. . . We greatly admire the people of East Timor who, in the past, have heroically struggled against the Portuguese colonialists' domination and, at present, are united in their resolute fight to preserve their sacred fundamental national rights and rights to self-determination against Indonesia's armed aggression.

Being a nation which has waged protracted resistance wars against French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, made many sacrifices and undergone many hardships to win peace, independence democracy and social progress, the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam completely sympathize with and resolutely support the struggle for independence and freedom carried on by the people of East Timor and are convinced that this just struggle will win final victory.

May the friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of Viet Nam and East Timor last for ever.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

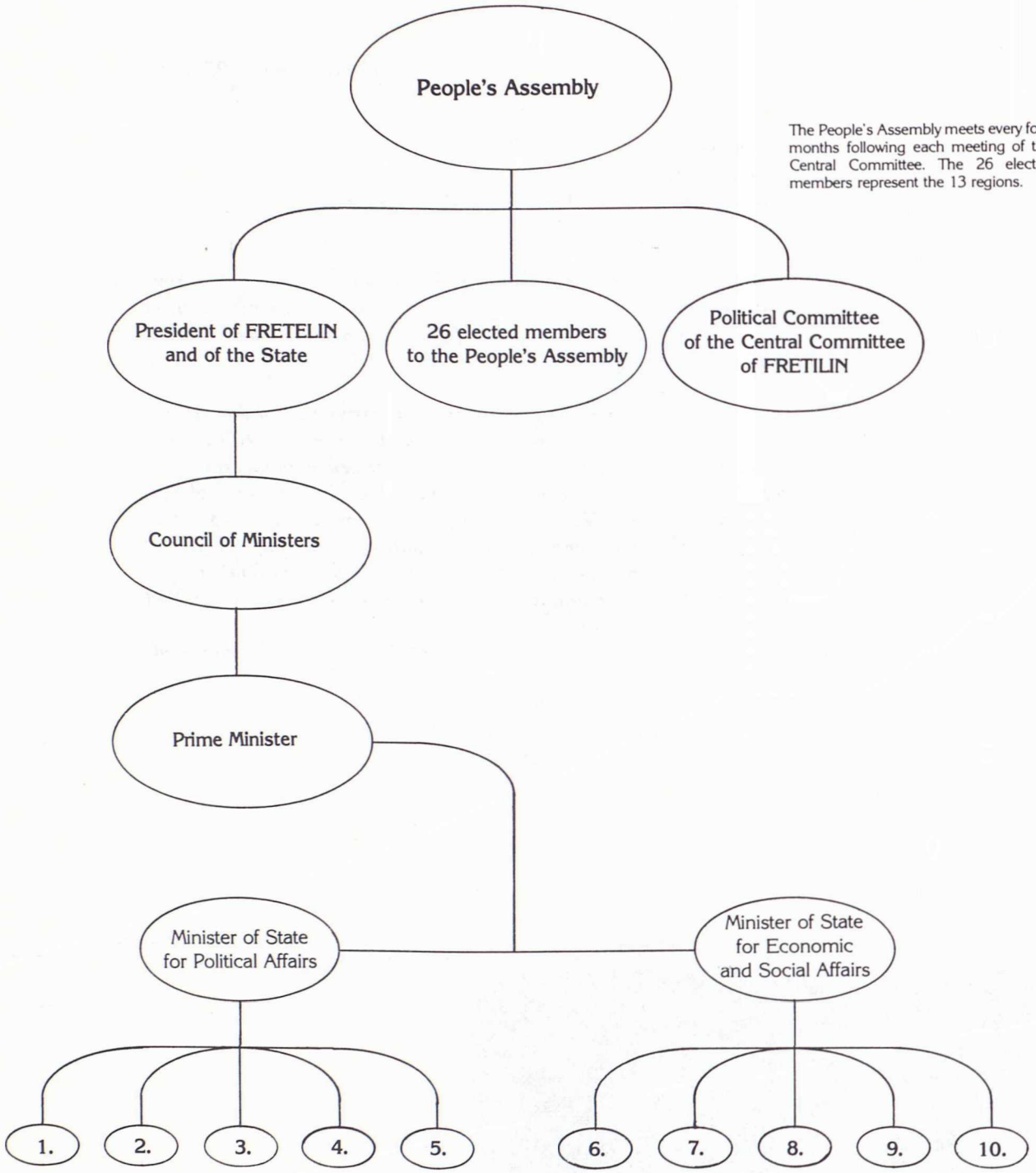
President
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
Ton Duc Thang



At night children and adults, women and men, resort to candlelight to study.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR

THE GOVERNMENT



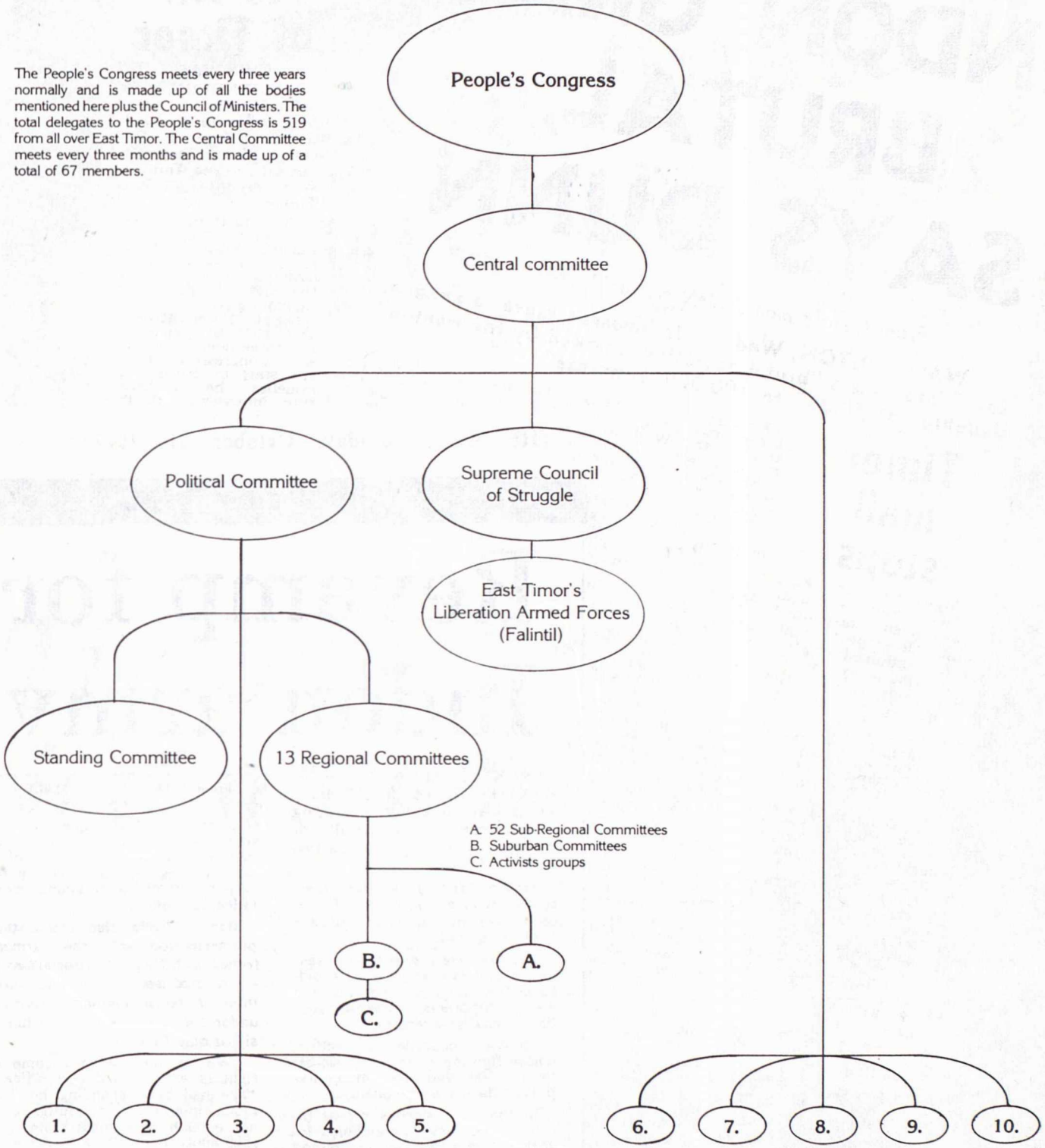
1. Ministry of National Defence
2. Ministry of Information and National Security
3. Ministry of External Relations
4. Ministry of Home Affairs
5. Ministry of Education

6. Ministry of Justice
7. Ministry of Work and Health
8. Ministry of Economy and Finance
9. Ministry of Transportation and Communications
10. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary

FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA DE TIMOR ESTE INDEPENDENTE

FRETILIN

The People's Congress meets every three years normally and is made up of all the bodies mentioned here plus the Council of Ministers. The total delegates to the People's Congress is 519 from all over East Timor. The Central Committee meets every three months and is made up of a total of 67 members.



1. Department of Political Orientation
2. Department of National Defence
3. Department of Information and National Security
4. Department of External Relations
5. Department of Justice

6. Department of Education and Culture
7. Department of Transportation and Communication
8. Department of Work and Health
9. Department of Economy and Finance
10. Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary.

"Herald" 25·3·77.

INDON GRAB BRUTAL, SAYS DUNN

From Herald man JOHN HAMILTON

WASHINGTON, Wed. — Indonesia's move to annexe East Timor was a "brutal operation, marked by the wanton slaughter of 50,000 to 100,000 Timorese".

Mr Jim Dunn, a Canberra public servant, tol this to the Washingto inquiry today.

He said there was e tensive looting, rape a torture.

Mr Dunn — who int viewed Timorese refug in Portugal — was qu tioned about the killi of five Australian jo nalists.

"It took part du the first major Ind sian attack of East T on October 16, 1975, said.

Mr Dunn earlier t news conference: " are indications th least some of these tralian journalists deliberately killed donesia because were photographi donesian troops."

At the Congres ing, Mr Dunn wa if the Indonesia Airborne Briga carried out "exce

Mr Dunn: "I g from two Chir were in Dili that as soon as troopers arriv started shootir

"They said during the Ja cupation, wher morese lives the killings up to the r first day."

The U.S. deputy assis- tant Secretary of State, Oakley, said

Timor mail stops

Mail between East Timor and Portugal has been suspended since the report on alleged Indonesian atrocities made by Australian public servant Jim Dunn.

News of the suspension is contained in a letter to Mr Dunn in Canberra by the Committee of Timorese Refugees in Portugal.

Mr Dunn is in Washington, where he has testified to U.S. Congressional committees on the alleged atrocities.

He was an Australian consul in Dili, East Timor, when it was a Portuguese colony.

Mr Dunn has received news of the letter through the chairman of Community Aid Abroad in Melbourne, Mr David Scott.

CAA is helping to finance Mr Dunn's trip to the United States.

Dunn set to tell of Timor

From JOHN HAMILTON

WASHINGTON, Tues. —Mr Jim Dunn arrived here today to give evidence before a U.S. congressional committee on alleged Indonesian atrocities in East Timor.

He is to testify tomorrow before Congressman Donald Fraser's House sub-committee on international organisations, the body that deals with human rights.

Mr Dunn went straight to Capitol Hill today for a three-hour meeting with Congressman Fraser's staff to discuss the evidence he gathered from interviews with Ti-

THE AGE, Monday, October 31, 1977

Revamp for Indon army

From HAMISH McDONALD

JAKARTA, October 30. — Indonesia's armed forces have embarked on a big retraining programme as a result of unexpectedly high casualties in East Timor.

Senior officers believe their troops, who are sent into Timor, on a six-month rotation basis, are badly prepared.

They believe the forces are taking casualties that could be avoided at this stage of their 22-month war of suppression against Fretilin nationalist guerillas.

They also concede that Fretilin, whose fighting strength is put between 600 and 700 men, has proven itself a tough enemy.

In the most serious recent incident, in mid-September, Indonesian marines are understood to have lost 14 men killed in a single engagement with Fretilin.

"This was not just a shoot and run ambush. It was a straight-out fight with Fretilin operating at

Complaints have been heard about poor equipment since the invasion. In the early stages military sources reported that up to 75 per cent of heavy ammunition failed to explode.

Many officers also blame the preoccupation of the armed forces with their "territorial" role — internal security — and with intervention in civilian activities under the doctrine of "dwi-fungsi" or dual function.

"We had ceased to become a fighting army," said one officer. "We had been spending far too much time on this dwi-fungsi and not enough on combat training," said another.

At least two new battle training areas have been prepared on Java and units are being regularly circulated through them.

The armed forces newspaper

THE AGE, MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, 19 OCTOBER 1977

Jakarta 'blatan rights violator

Amnesty International, in a report to be released at the United Nations today, delivers its most scathing censure to date of Indonesian political imprisonment.

Amnesty last week was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1977.

It accuses Australia's populous northern neighbor of continued cynical disregard for human rights and cal- attempts to deceive interna- tations

by MICHAEL BARNARD

fied world-wide campaign to press Jakarta for the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees not charged or already brought to trial.

With Amnesty's Australian section actively involved, the campaign could not come at a more sensitive time for the Australian Government, whose relations with Jakarta are delicately balanced in the wake of Indonesia's invasion of Timor and the death of six Australia newsmen there.

...clearly identifies Australia ...nesty campaign ...com-

Ali Murtopo could prove a barrassment, especially if demonstrations as a result o latest revelations and accu

To gain maximum impe new drive to marshal wo Amnesty is releasing its I port to the Press corp Amnesty has also put sub fore the UN Commision Rights, on which Australi take a seat in January.

The report scathingly d donesia's promises and ar leases of prisoners as window-dressing. There h significant change, it says.

Many of those freed h arrested (sometimes after ...d to pay "bribes" ...d their n

Timor's war: see no evil...

"I CAN'T be precise but I saw at least 150 lined up on the wharf and shot. It took about 40 minutes. As each shot was fired a body fell into the water and they all eventually floated out to sea."

That is an eye-witness's account of what happened a few days after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December, 1975. The witness's integrity is beyond reproach and his account is supported by a second witness. I cannot reveal their names because to do so

At each of the seven centres I was taken to in chartered light planes and helicopters paid for by the Indonesian Government, huge welcoming crowds had been organised for my arrival.

At each whistle stop comely young girls showered me with rose petals and I was presented with gifts. The Indonesian officials, impeccably polite as always, had pulled out all stops to make me feel worse. The influence could welcome. But, as so frequently happens in these situations, something went wrong.

The armoured personnel

with both their permission and their assistance.

The current assessment of Western intelligence sources in Jakarta is that Timor is now controlled one third by the Indonesians and one third by Fretilin. One third is no man's land.

Forty-seven-year old General Dading, the current Indonesian military commander on Timor, says that "the band gangs," as Fretilin forces are referred to, control the town of Remexio, 15 km south of Dili. He admits that they are active around the town of Aileu, in the area around Lagoa on the

SOUTHEAST ASIA